

interviewed riot witnesses and participants, having been only a child at the time of the riot. Hayden's work is infused with the narrative developed by the white leadership regarding the perceived necessity of their actions but contains details of conspiracy, murder and intrigue not found in other contemporary sources. Corroboration of portions of his work has been possible and the documents have been treated as resting somewhere between primary and secondary source materials. Hayden generated multiple versions of his work in the process of creating the two well-known documents from 1936 and 1954. His work, in whole or partial form, can be found in repositories in Wilmington, Raleigh, Durham, and Chapel Hill. J. Allan Taylor's personal copy of the *Story of the Wilmington Rebellion* is located in the North Carolina Collection in Chapel Hill. Taylor, a member of the "Secret Nine," the influential body of white businessmen who led the campaign that resulted in the violence and overthrow of municipal government, scribbled commentary in the margins of the booklet. His most revealing notation was "masterful duplicity."

The "masterful duplicity" described by Taylor referred to the ability of white leadership in Wilmington to develop long-range plans for instigating violence, a strategy to quell that violence and their subsequent ability to call the affair a riot – implying a sudden break in peacefulness rather than reveal its true character, that of a planned insurrection. The ultimate goal for Taylor and other leaders was the resurgence of white rule of the city and state for a handful of men through whatever means necessary. Many familiar with the history of the city and the events of November 10 will be quick to tell you that the coup d'état—the overthrow of democratically elected officials—of the afternoon of November 10 is just as important to understand as are the murders and banishment campaign. The change in government on November 10<sup>th</sup> fully ended black participation in city and county government until the advent of the civil rights era. Furthermore, the 1898 campaign capped by violence in Wilmington proved to be a catalyst for the state—Jim Crow legislation and subjugation of African Americans resulted statewide. Because Wilmington rioters were able to murder blacks in daylight and overthrow a legitimately elected Republican government without penalty or federal intervention, everyone in the state, regardless of race, knew that the white supremacy campaign was victorious on all fronts.

The impact of the riot—the economic, cultural and physical changes to the Wilmington landscape—is complicated to document. As will be seen in the report, some changes happened immediately and others developed over time. Black entrepreneurship and employment were dramatically reduced, cultural institutions were diminished, and educational opportunities decreased. The destruction of the Alexander Manly newspaper office on the morning of November 10 silenced the black press in the city for over a decade. Not until the development of the *Cape Fear Journal* in 1927 did the city have another regular African American newspaper.

To understand the economics of the riot, outside contributors have been consulted and brought into the project. The work on the economic impact of the riot has been done by an economics graduate student, Tod Hamilton, in conjunction with the Institute for African American Research led by Dr. William Darity at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Tod's work has been vital to the statistical survey of the changes wrought to the African American financial scene. As of the release of the report, Tod's work is ongoing and his preliminary findings have been incorporated and appended to this report.